Jr Migutsi G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

by consult, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Bukoyo* and the *Kinyalolgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A Hunter and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).
[2] Mr Hobley informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 308, n.). Hobley, "The *Okiek*," *their Language and Folklore*, by C. Hobley.

2: Mogulzo G-S (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Overdue FLA

193 women and they own. How we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Sarbula states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Mandated, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro hostilities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lukito was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Ilaikipi* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjon, Salei and Poldjet) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Ilkidoto*

[1] See p. 231, fn. 1. The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may conceivably have been *Aramanik*.

[2] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[3] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Contents

[illegible]

Preliminary Note

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bungsu and Bujang Gila, the smallest being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called Tujuh. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—else how is female consequent. Others say he is, he was so senseless he persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intercede in human affairs, or when, for instance, the crops are bad and only a conduit.

The wizard is known as Pgamanan. His functions are the same as those of the Ajaib of Selaan, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 30 years ago there was among the Wandindin a great rain-maker whose name, Langalan, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wandindin themselves, but also by the Dalaiden, the Ot, the Kenneyjang and the Pathana peoples, but not, however, by the Bedangs of the Sadan.

When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come to with gruesome presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together over Langalan, who would sit quietly smoking, or it is related, till he remembered the offerings sufficient, when he would betake himself to the centre of nothing else. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalagong, in a ravine that runs down into the Sili valley, where grows a great figtree over a hundred feet high. It is said, seven times up. Although great events have to transpire and be marked in the books, but are allowed to dawn. After this it would be ignored to such a way that the contents of the stomach could be examined without [illegible] the [illegible] which would have to [illegible] with water. The procedure then was to dump the goat in the top of the fig tree, which Langalan called upon Kalaiden to send rain, in the confidence of the rain-maker's knowledge. All goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, each one all the more that remained within the body after he left, and have it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony and in the course the rain would fall.

Langalan's reputed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a long enough rain-maker. He is much regretted by the Wandindin, who say that since his death in the Pathana massacre the rains have been great and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in the land. He was, it is said, a Malay Pathana. It is to be noted that Langalan was not a Malay, but that and but a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of rain specialists. It would gather nothing reliable as to the needs of hunter of rain-lore.

It is only connected with the ground Wandindin chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's widow by the grave was. We were to meet before dawn, but after the chief's message failed on the last occasion, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I set out myself, partly fulfilled in that time. I went and they gone.

A few commentators and a very short sought vocabulary follow. There were a [illegible] differences between the Wandindin and their neighbours. The most marked difference is perhaps in their speech, for although the Wandindin speak "Sarawangang" the tongue which

?: Wayland H-5 (ca. 1936) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kenya in 1930 I was told that no new circumcision stone vessels, much the same in shape as the wooden ones described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who made them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient blue beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme north-east of Kenya, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a south-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Gisha to whom and brother to a reigning monarch) who during a sojourn in Sudan (in the Yagusu Province), constructed those remarkable earthworks known as *Ngye Bye Mugenyi* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what reliability I leave out, with the ruined buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Circumcision Ceremonies.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wandorobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary and none others than old men but the Elders have any knowledge of the customs significance or origin of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of many practices is lost to antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the Native troops of the K.A.R.) that elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say should receive their support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and sometimes these are fact. Old Elders differ as their seniors, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was worked over several times, and the mutually incompatible results discarded. The task is not very encouraging; it is however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kenya are deserving of detailed study.

So far as practice results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between these and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to establishing relevant origins and suggestions, etc. It is true, however, to have little to the profound ethnologist. For perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely evidence against. One may note, for instance, the absence of that intensely

14.Huntingford I-4 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO*

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1932, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Nandi Reserve. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an unsettled, landless group of outcasts living a precarious existence on the farms which stretch up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Nandi, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made their acquaintance in 1937, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took showed a total of 331 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P. 43, 6]

18r Merker--591 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6 •
Asa

/418 cont./

3. Physical Measurement.

MD 141 [125]

During the taking of the measurements, the people appeared very reasonable and neither shy nor particularly awkward: I was, of course, no stranger to them, but rather an old acquaintance, who, through firm pressure of the legs of the caliper compass or beam compass, could even cause them slight pain without making them restless or anxious.

My instruments, besides the aforementioned compasses, which are part of the Bertillon case, consisted of an ordinary recruit measure and a steel measuring tape.

MD 141 128

/419/ Of the double numbers for the nipple height, the first number gives the height of the left nipple, the second one that of the right one.

Of the double numbers for the ear length, the first number shows the total length of the ear, the second one the distance from the upper ear-edge to the upper edge of the hole of the ear lobe. Where only one number is found, it gives the length of the "unbeautified," naturally formed ear.

The longitudinal circumference of the head was measured sagitally, the vertical circumference transversally.

The length of the head hair was included in the table of measurements because of its relationship to the head measurements.

The head measurements of the men Nos. 9 and 10 could not be taken precisely because of the impenetrable braid coiffure.